1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 30). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[343] [291]

Fig. 36. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointesa[a], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 30). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as breastworks by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 342 the Wind River. Lowie has pointed out their resemblance in this regard to the Blackfoot and Crow, and, to complete the list from Wissler's notes, the Sarsi, Hidatsa, Salteaux, Comanche, and possibly the Kiowa Apache.[1] It is important to know the foundation pattern for the other tribes of this area. For if they all use four poles then Lowie's suggestion might be reversed; the four-pole tipi of the Blackfoot, Crow, and others being derived from the Basin peoples. The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analogous to the usual Plains tipi. We should know what the Jicarilla and Mescalero use to solve this puzzle.

The gable house is typical of the Mohave, but is used by the Havasupai and White Mountain Apache. It is characteristic of this form that the walls closing the gable ends slant as well as the sides and that the corners are rounded. The Southern Diegueño house is presumably a related type, although it lacks these features. We should probably look to other southern and central Californian tribes for similar forms.[2]

The Navaho log cabin of polygonal groundplan is copied by the Havasupai. It has been suggested that this structure is related to the log roofing of some prehistoric subterranean kivas.

171 343 The flat-roofed, rectangular shade is very widely used but it is not usually walled in. When three or four sides are closed it forms a definite type of house, which furthermore seems to have only a local distribution. This includes the Havasupai, Moapa and Tointesa[3] Paiute, and Mohave. These Paiute houses are said to have sloping roofs, but I take this to be only a minor difference. The rectangular, gable-roofed house of the Cahuilla and of the modern Southern Diegueño may belong to the same type. The walled-in shade seems to be related to a type of structure used to the south by the Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and Yuma; that is, a similar rectangular house of which the walls are vertical poles wattled with brush and mud. This in turn bears resemblance to the houses of the Opata and Jumanos in northern Mexico.[4]

The matter of house types is further complicated by the reports of communal dwellings in southern California. We know little about these.

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[1] Wissler, (a), 110.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 377. Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 143. The Moapa house referred to by Lowie [(b), 219, Fig. 7a] as of Mohave type is not characteristic of that tribe, although it is used by them (see *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 971).
[3] Hanshaw, (a), 88, 92.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

574 long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking
262 off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

343 When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving
251 to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone [333] walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

423 The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone,
343 sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identi-
251 fication had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

251 Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

2:Iliff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

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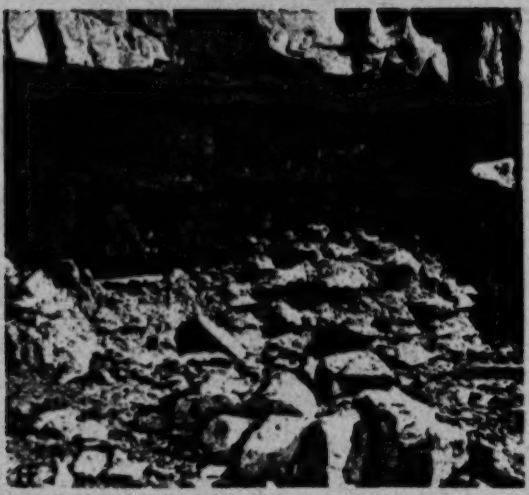

Fig. 8. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

●343 517 571 562 759 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one inform-
[842] ant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[841] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 324

The Havasupai house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 123

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[53] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[347] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[355] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[363] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are flaked from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[385] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal [illegible] fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
[75] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[168] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[139] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[132] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
● 648 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of the Willows.
I

123 609 run forward and warn the tribe — whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, [574] a former host welcomed him and us with jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 374B]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
468 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in almost inaccessible places, everywhere occur in nooks and shelves throughout the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-paí build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the forest-covered plains of the desert above and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-paí have been in the habit of procuring, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-off soldier and other American clothing, which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, however, is not rare. It consists simply of a coat made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the centre serving as neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist. Add to this the breech-clout of soft, fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin, close-fitting leggins fringed down the front, — though quite as often the legs are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of buckskin, which reach above the ankles like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-va-su-paí man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an additional luxury, possession of which is indispensable to good standing in the tribe. The dress of the women is yet more simple. It consists of a long fringed apron of red buckskin, buttoned together behind, extending from the breast — where it is secured by a strap around

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating. (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.